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### XIII.—SCRIPTURAL NAMES IN EARLY MIDDLE ENGLISH.

#### A. HISTORICAL CONSIDERATIONS.

The paramount influence of French learning in England after the Conquest is well known. Under Edward the Confessor many of the most important church positions in England had been filled by foreigners. Although most of the foreign prelates were expelled by Earl Godwin, after the accession of William there was an immediate and general occupation by the invaders of all high offices of church and state. Freeman (*Norman Conquest*, vol. III.) remarks that when, near the end of his reign, "William gathered his Witan to his great Gemot at Salisbury, there was not a single English earl and only one English bishop to answer his summons."<sup>1</sup> That under these circumstances French culture and French learning must have dominated in England, is obvious.

On English orthography the influence of the French culture was soon apparent. Even in the 11th century, before the Conquest, French script had been used in writing Latin manuscripts in England. In the 12th century, after the Conquest, French handwriting and French modes of orthography began to come into use in writing English manuscripts. The orthographic change, according to Sweet (*Hist. Engl. Sounds*, §§ 588 ff.), "is abrupt and complete: it amounts, indeed, to the introduction of a totally new basis

<sup>1</sup> The nationality of the priests in the 13th century is indicated by the typical names referred to in the *Ancren Riwe*, p. 340: "*say a munuch oðer a preost; and nout Willam ne Walter.*"

—the eNorman Fr orthography, modified, of course, in detail by the traditional British orthography.”

In determining the forms of scriptural names in English there was an opportunity for the new French culture to make itself felt. Here was a number of words common to English and French, but in many cases differing in form. Which form was to persist, the English or the French?<sup>1</sup>

ME. scriptural names were affected by Norman-French influence in various ways. The orthography was affected by the new letters brought in by the Normans, and by the changes introduced by them in the value of the English letters. The pronunciation of the names was affected by the fact that the Normans started the fashion of using the scriptural and saintly names as personal names. “In the whole time,” says Freeman (vol. v, p. 556),<sup>2</sup> “between Augustine and William, no layman of England bore any but a purely Teutonic name.”<sup>3</sup> “In this respect Germany was as Teutonic as England.” From Normandy came our distinctively “Christian” names. This fact is important

<sup>1</sup> This investigation was undertaken by me at the suggestion of Prof. F. Kluge, who has himself touched upon the subject in his article on “Das Französische Element im Ormulum,” *Engl. Stud.*, xxii, 179–182.

<sup>2</sup> Freeman’s statement is too sweeping. Such names as *Iacob* and *Petrus* were occasionally given to Englishmen even in Anglo-Saxon times. Cf. Searle, *Onomasticon Anglo-Saxonicum*, Cambridge, 1897.

<sup>3</sup> The Norman influence on English personal names is well-known and striking. Before the Conquest the nomenclature of Normandy was almost totally different from that of England. “With few exceptions, in the generation of Domesday, a name was a certain indication of race, particularly in the case of names of women.” “An effect of the Norman Conquest,” according to Freeman, “was that the nomenclature of Normandy was brought into England and the great mass of distinctively English names was, for the time being, at least, driven out, a rare exception being the names Eadward and Eadmund, which, because names of saints, had been given by Henry III. to his two sons and in this way preserved. The typical Anglo-Saxon names Godric and Godgifu gave place to Jack and Jill.”

because scriptural names, when applied to living persons, ceased to be distinctively learned, book terms, and became popular words subject to the ordinary laws of sound-change.<sup>1</sup> In another way the Norman Conquest favored the same result. Indirectly the dominance of French culture, tending as it did to level English dialects in importance, weakened the authority of the standard language, and in this way favored the popular forms of names as distinguished from the learned forms. The other, and perhaps most important, influence exerted on ME. scriptural names, was the obvious one that must have been exerted by a language felt to be superior in rank over a language of inferior standing. When an author or a scribe had his choice between two forms of a word, it would be natural for him to select the one sanctioned by the best authority, the one sanctioned by the language of the school where he had studied, that is to say, the French form.<sup>2</sup>

#### B. DISTINCTION BETWEEN NATIVE AND FRENCH FASHIONS IN SCRIPTURAL NAMES.

The most striking characteristic of the OE. writing of biblical names was conservatism. Under the domination of Latin scholarship, the OE. writer aimed to reproduce, in most cases, not only the sounds, but even the letters of the Latin form which served as his original. For example in OE. scriptural names the Latin *th* usually persists, when in common nouns it has been replaced almost entirely by the

<sup>1</sup> The name Stephen is an example in point. See list.

<sup>2</sup> A remarkable instance of the superior *prestige* of French forms of names is afforded by the English poem, *King Horn*, in which (due, of course, to an OF. original poem) even Teutonic names appear in French form, *Ailbrus*, *Ailmar*, *Allof*, *Cutberd*, *Suddenne*, *Arnoldin*. Cf. Morsbach, *Beitr. z. rom. u. engl. Phil.*, Festgabe für W. Förster, Halle, 1902.

OE. characters þ, ð.<sup>1</sup> Notice for example the forms, *Bethuliam*, *Judith*.<sup>2</sup> Not only the sounds and the letters, but the declensional endings of the Latin were usually preserved, *e. g.*: *Hieremia -am*, *Iohannes -em*, Chron.; *Helias -am*, *esaias (isaias) -am*, WS. Matth. The instances where a name came into such popular use as to lose its book form and undergo the regular sound changes were relatively infrequent, *e. g.*, *Eotul*, *Eatul* beside the learned form *Italia*, *Geoweorpa* = 'Jugurtha,' *Calwer*, *Cealfre* = *Calvarie*, *Custantin* (Oldest Engl. Texts, 154, 13), *læden* = 'Latin,' *Crēcas* and *Crēacas* = 'Greeks,' *Iuþytte*, *etc.* Other slight departures from the learned forms are *Bet(h)lem* = *Bethlehem*, *Effrem* = *Ephraim*, *etc.*, and, perhaps, a tendency to lengthen the initial syllable of foreign names under the influence of Teutonic accentuation (cf. Sievers, *Beiträge*, x, 492ff.; Pogatscher, *Zur Lautlehre der grich., lat., u. rom. Lehnworte im Altenglischen* §§ 14, 27, 42, 52; Bright, *Publ. Mod. Lang. Assoc.*, xiv pp. 354 ff.).

The OF. language, on the other hand, derived as it is from

<sup>1</sup> There are, of course, exceptions to the general rule of faithfulness. The Latin *th* character in scriptural names seems to indicate in OE. a stop-sound initially; medially and finally it seems, sometimes at least, to indicate a spirant sound and is sometimes represented by ð *e. g.*, *Sciððia* Metr. 1, *Bitðinia* Sal. 197, *Jafeð* gen. (usual form), *Nazareð* Elene 913. Lat. *ph*, on the other hand, seems to indicate a spirant sound everywhere except finally, and this spirant sound is represented in OE. by *f* in *Bethfage* (beside *Bethphage*), *Cafarnaum* (*Capharnaum*), *Eufraten*, *Effrem*, *Farao*, *etc.* In the final position the Lat. *ph* cannot have had a spirant pronunciation at the time when these names were introduced. For example *Joseph* undoubtedly ended with a stop-sound *p*, though in writing there occur the two forms, *Ioseph*, *Iosep*.

<sup>2</sup> *Judith* is the regular form occurring in the OE. poem bearing that title. In the A.-S. Chronicle we have what seems to be the popular French pronunciation of 'Judith' used as a personal name. The name of the French Judith, daughter of Charles the Bald and wife of Aethelwulf appears in the different manuscripts of the Chronicle as: *Iuþytte* A, *Iupette* B, *Iudette* C, *Iupætte* D, *Iothete* E.

the "vulgar," popular Latin, is accustomed to popular forms of Latin words. The scriptural names, though more subject than common nouns to the conservative influence of the written language, when they have once come into popular use, have usually undergone the regular changes that differentiate OF. from the original Latin. In consequence we have in OF. two main classes of scriptural names: 1) those that never came into popular use and consequently are preserved only in the regular Latin form; and 2) words in popular use, which, though subject to book influence, in some instances have undergone the regular sound-changes.<sup>1</sup> Many proper names are preserved in double form: 1) popular, 2) learned. The learned forms, since they agree with the Latin, are the same in OF. and in OE., and hence do not concern us here. The popular forms are the only ones that are distinctive of the OF.

### C. CRITERIA FOR DISTINGUISHING FRENCH FORMS IN MIDDLE ENGLISH.

In early ME. texts there is a bewildering multiplicity in the forms of the proper names. Even individual writers are not uniform in their usage. That most consistent of individuals, Orm, becomes confused when he has to deal with proper names. He writes, now *Abæl*, now *Abel*; *Abraham*, *Habraham*; *Abya*, *Abyas*, *Abyud*, *Abyuþþ*; *Daviþ*, *Daviþþ*; *Bepþleæm*, *Bepþleæm*; *Elysabæþ*, *Elyzabæth*; *Galile*, *Galileow*, *Galilew*; *Jafæþ*, *Jafæth*; *Mappeow*, *Mapeow*, *Mappew*, *Mapew*; *Noe*, *Nop*; *Zacarias*, *Zacariass*, *Zacaryass*, etc. (eight in all). As one would expect, the conflict between

<sup>1</sup> The names 'Paul' and 'Saul' seem to illustrate this difference. Paul, coming into popular use, has undergone the regular OF. sound-change and appears regularly as *Pols*, *Pol*. 'Saul,' on the other hand, never popularly used, appears as far as I have observed, as *Saül*.

different principles of accentuation makes itself evident (cf. Fritsche, *Anglia*, VII, 52). Even Orm is by no means uniform in his accentuation. We find: *Ádam*, *Adám*; *Ánna*, *Anná*; *Jóscep*, *Josáep*; *Sául*, *Saúl*; *Helyseow*, *Hélyséow*, etc.

Among the various departures in ME. from the classical forms of names it is not easy to find certain marks of French influence.

### I. *Treatment of Endings.*

1. The weakening of vocalic endings to *-e* may be explained by the laws of native English sound change. An illustration of this fact is supplied in the case of Orm's *Mārȝe*. "In OE. this name occurs 14 times in verse. The pronunciation *Māria* is always possible; *Maria* is in certain cases possible but nowhere necessary" (Pogatscher, as above, p. 33). Orm's spelling, *Marȝe*, shows the weakening to final *-e* in a form distinctly English in contrast with the OF. *Maríe*. But though this weakening to *-e* may be explained by laws of English sounds, it was furthered by the influence of the OF., where final unaccented vowels are either dropped or weakened to *-e* (Schwan-Behrens, *Altfr. Gr.*, §§ 77-79).

2. The dropping of the Latin endings *-us*, *-as*, *-es* (as in *Satan*, *Peter*, *Iohan*, *Luk*, *Lucifer*, *Nicodem*, *Paul*) finds some precedent in OE., e. g., *Satan*, Gen. 345; *Sathan*, Aelfr. 175, 177; *Lucifer*, Satan 367; *Sē Peter*, Laud ms. of A.-S. Chron. 656, 693 (usually *Petrus* in OE.); *Iacob* = 'James,' *Fata apostolorum* 35, 70, Ben. Rule, Cap. 64 (12th cent. Winteneý Version). The general use of these shortened forms was, however, furthered by French influence, which favored the use of popular forms, and by French example, since the oblique case forms in the French had no final *-s*.

4. The ME. forms in *-ēw* ('Matthew,' 'Andrew,' etc.) are usually attributed to French influence (Kluge, *Engl. Stud.*,

XXII, 181; Behrens, *Beitr. z. Gesch. der frz. Sprache in England*, p. 161). The sounds receive a satisfactory explanation on this assumption, and there certainly is a striking parallelism between the OF. and the ME. forms. Such a form as Orm's *Anndrew* (OE. *Andrēas*) seems certainly to be French, though perhaps, like Orm's *Galileow*, it may be formed by analogy. The other forms, *Bartholomeu*, *Ebrew*, *Helysew*, *Farisew*, *Judeow*, *Saduceow* *Maþ(p)ew*,<sup>1</sup> it would seem possible to attribute to native laws of change. An examination, however, of the names in the list at the end of this article will be sufficient to convince one of French influence.

4. The explanation of the ending *-ie* in such forms as *Zacarie*, *Isaie* is a similar source of perplexity. The laws of English sound-change explain these forms satisfactorily; at the same time we find in OF., forms showing identical pronunciation with that of the ME. forms. (See list.)

5. The *æ* (*ē*) of the endings in the *Ormulum*, as in *Rachæl*, *Israēl*, *Abēl*, *Michaēl*, *Elisabāþ*, *Nazarāþ*, etc., can hardly be attributed to OF. influence, Kluge to the contrary (*Engl. Stud.*, XXII, 182). The only names in this class that I have been able to find in OF. rimes, have been shown to be short (*Abēl*: *revel*, Adam 722, 723; *Abēl*: *morsel*, Reimpredigt, St. 9; *Gabriēl*: *morsel*, Phil. Thaün Computus 871).<sup>2</sup> On the other hand in OE. the *e* in such names is long, as is shown by such half-lines as: *þone 3abriēl* × × *l* × *l*, Glaubensbkenntnis 12; *Michahēles*, Heiligenkal. 178; *Misaēl*, Dan. 92, etc. Furthermore

<sup>1</sup> Orm's *Maþ(p)ē(o)w* has the accent regularly on the second syllable. The spirant *þ*, however, hardly seems to be French. At least the development of the name in later French does not show the complete shading out of the dental that one would expect to follow the spirant pronunciation.

<sup>2</sup> These names appear in Greek respectively as *Ἀβελ*, *Γαβριήλ*.



Orm's *Michaēl* is trisyllabic, while in OF.<sup>1</sup> that name is dissyllabic, *e. g.*, *Michiel*, Wace's *Marie* 77; and the spirant *-p* is not characteristic of OF. Cf. OF. *Elisabet*, *Japhet*, *Nazaret*, *Iuþytte*, etc., but OE. *Iafeð*, *Nazareth* (cf. E. Selected List).

6. The final *-p* in Orm's *Josēp* has an OE. precedent. The length of the final syllable also is OE. (cf. Elene 787, Andreas 691). On the other hand, French models as well would serve to explain the final *-p*, *e. g.*, *Josep*, Wace's *Marie* 18, 26, etc. (*Joseph* 49); *Joseps* nom., Pass. Chr. 341.<sup>2</sup>

7. Such forms as *Faraon*, *Nerun*, etc., where the *n* of the oblique cases has been given to the nominative, seem to rest on French precedent.

8. For the difference between OF. and OE. treatment of final *-th*, cf. 5 above, also II, 2 below. Notice also the OF. forms: *Josaphat*, *Ietro*, *Betel*.

## II. Treatment of Medial Consonants.

1. The forms *Gryv*, *Griu*, etc., 'Greek,' are obviously French (cf. Schwan-Behrens, §§ 140, 2). Orm's *Grickess* is as obviously native.

2. Intervocalic and final dentals, after passing through the intermediate stage, voiced spirant *th*, had shaded out entirely from OF. by the middle of the 12th century (cf. G. Paris, *Vie de St. Alexis*, p. 92; Schw.-Behr., § 119; Baist, *Zt. für Rom. Phil.*, xx, 327 ff.). The voiced spirant of the transitional stage has been preserved in a considerable number of English words borrowed from the French, *e. g.*, *faith*, Orm's *cariteþ*, *kariteþ*. One is inclined to put in the same class with *faith* and *cariteþ* certain forms of

<sup>1</sup> The subsequent development of *Michael* in French (Cf. list of names) seems to indicate short *-el* in OF. (Mod. Fr. *Michēl*).

<sup>2</sup> The final *-p* in Orm's *Jopess*, *Amminadap* may be explained by native laws of sound change. Cf. explanation of *gossip*, *cheeselip* (Kluge, in Paul's *Grundriss*).

proper names with medial or final *þ*, e. g., *Daviþ*(*þ*) Orm, *Galaað* G. & E.; and the fact that such forms as *Dauy*, *Dauí*, etc., where the spirant has been shaded out completely, are frequent in ME. texts slightly later than the *Ormulum*, confirms one in the suspicion that *Daviþ*, *Juðewess*, etc., represent an intermediate stage in the development of the French names. In this connection, however, it must not be forgotten that in OE. proper names, medial and final *d* was sometimes changed to the spirant, e. g.: *Ginþeas*, Run. inscr.; *Dauíðes*, Vesp. Hymns 9; *David*, *dauíð*, *dauídes*, *dauíðes*, Northumbr. Gospels (Cook); *Marþonius*, *Leonípa*, etc., Alfred's *Orosius*. (Cf. Pogatscher, §§ 317–329, who is inclined to attribute the spirant pronunciation even in OE. to French influence).<sup>1</sup> The different forms of the word 'Jew' in the early ME. texts (*Gíwís*, *Gewes*, *Gywes*, *Gýv*, etc.), represent a stage in the French development at which the dental had been shaded out completely.<sup>2</sup>

In transcribing English place names, OF. writers wrote *t* for English voiceless spirant *th* (cf. J. Westphal, *Englische Ortsnamen im Altfranzösischen*, Diss. Strassb., 1891). According to this test, Orm's *Elysabæþ*, *Nazaræþ*, *Jafæþ*, etc., are native forms (cf. I, 8, above).

<sup>1</sup> If the forms *Dauíð*, *Iuþewess*, etc. came from the French, they must have come in early in the 12th century, along with *feíð* (G. & E.), *plenteð* (G. & E.), *nativiteð* (Chron. 1113), *cariteþ* (Orm). The spirant sound *th* is foreign to French after this period, where it represented an intermediate stage in the shading out of medial and final dentals.

<sup>2</sup> The peculiar forms, *Noþ*, *Noþess*, *Abyud*, *Abyuþþ* in the *Ormulum*, perhaps find an explanation in this connection. Orm was undoubtedly acquainted with such forms as *Dauí*, for the spirant is supposed to have disappeared from French before 1150. He deliberately chose the older form *Daviþ*, just as he had chosen *cariteþ*. He seems to have mistaken *Noð* for one of the newer forms, which had lost the dental spirant, and for the sake of uniformity and consistency he adds the *-þ*. The form *Abyuþþ* perhaps has a similar explanation, though it may be due to confusion with another name. Cf. *Abiud*, *Abiuþ* in the *Cursor Mundi*, 9237, 9238.



The form 'James' must also be attributed to the OF. Cf. list of names.

It seems not at all improbable that initial *J*- in all proper names in the *Ormulum* was pronounced *dzh*: 1) the two distinctively native forms, 'Jerusalem' and 'Yule' are each spelled with a *ȝ* (*ȝerrsalæm*, *ȝol*, *ȝolldazȝ*); 2) initial *j*- is not used in common nouns (at least not so printed); 3) all the names beginning with *J*- are of foreign origin; 4) the fact that Orm used a distinctive sign, *J*-, seems a sure indication that there was a distinctive pronunciation.

#### IV. *Miscellaneous.*

1. The occasional conflict between the English and the French accentuation affords another ground of distinction, though most writers, including even the punctilious Orm, are very inconsistent in this matter.<sup>1</sup> On this ground we may pronounce such forms as *Márȝe* and *ȝérrsalæm* in the *Ormulum*, and *Mihhal*, Hom. 41, etc., to be native.<sup>2</sup> Perhaps even the difference between *Ion* and *Iohan* may be due to the difference between the native English and the French accent.

2. The French accompanying word *flum* (*flum Jordann*) and the French forms, *saint*, *seint*, *sein*, etc. (as distinguished from the native *sanctus*, *sanct*, *sancte*)<sup>3</sup> may be regarded as signs of French influence.

<sup>1</sup> For a definition of the distinction between French and English accentuation in this period, see Behrens, as above, p. 64.

<sup>2</sup> That the Teutonic accent on the initial syllable of foreign names did produce lengthening seems to be true in the case of *Márȝe* and *ȝerrsalæm* (and possibly in the case of *Amminadab*, *Emmanuel*) in the *Ormulum*, and in the case of *Mihhal*. See Pogatscher, as above, p. 31, and the opposed view of Bright in *Publ. Mod. Lang. Assoc.*, xiv, 355.

<sup>3</sup> The use of the word 'prophet,' as distinguished from OE. *Wit(e)ga*, may probably be attributed to French influence. *Propheta* occurs but once in OE. Cf. H. S. MacGillivray, *The Influence of Christianity on the Vocabulary of OE.*, Halle, 1902.

3. In some names the orthography betrays French influence, *e. g.*, *Egyption* (French *c*), *Ethiopian* (Schw.-Behr., § 52),<sup>1</sup> *Arabisz* (French *z*), *Maudeleyne* (Schw.-Behr., § 52), *Nerun*, *Pharaun*, *etc.* (Sturmfels, *Anglia*, ix, 562; Behrens, as above, p. 109).

4. The dissyllabic pronunciation of 'Paul,' as in Orm's *Pawell*, seems to be English. The regular OF. form is *Pol*s, *Pol* (cf. Schw.-Behr., §§ 73-75, 77, also citations in list of names).

#### D. CONSIDERATION OF INDIVIDUAL TEXTS.

I. *ME. homilies*.—The traditions of the age of Aelfric did not die with the Norman Conquest, but continued through the twelfth century. In the twelfth century some of Aelfric's homilies were transcribed, and some new ones were produced similar in thought and in form to those of the preceding century. In these one would expect to find OE. forms of names predominating.

1. (Hom. Cott.) Three homilies contained in Cott. ms. Vesp. A 22 (Published in *Old English Homilies*. First Series, by R. Morris, London, 1867-8, pp. 216-245).—This text, which belongs to the Southeast, is a very early one, as is shown by the fact that the early ME. changes, *ā* to *ǣ*, *c* to *ch*, *sc* to *sh*, have not yet come about. The orthography is but slightly affected by French influence, and the influence of OE. literary tradition is apparent in the phraseology and in the religious vocabulary, *e. g.*, *hlaforð*, *almihtig god*, *helend*, *þa sundor halȝan* = 'Pharisees,' *boceras* = 'Scribes' (but *paradis* 221). The proper names as one would expect, have the native form, *e. g.*: *Maria* nom., *Marie* gen., *Marie*

<sup>1</sup> The distinctively native forms are such as: *ebreisce folc*, *iudeisce men*, *isrælisce bēn* (*bern* ?) = 'children of Israel,' *etc.*

dat.; *Christ* alone (*laford ihesu crist* only once); *iudeisce folc*; *Ysaïam*; *Moises-en*; *sanctes paulus, sanctus Iohannes, Eua-am, etc.*

2. (Hom.) Homilies contained in Lambeth MS. 1 (Printed by R. Morris, as above, pp. 1-182).—This series is also early (OE. *ð* is still written *a*), and belongs to the South-west. French influence on the orthography is more evident than in Hom. Cott., but the stylistic features are English. In fact, two of this series, IX and X, are transcribed from Aelfric. According to Sturmfels (*Anglia*, VIII, 200-262), these homilies contain "few words that are certainly of Romanic origin." The church vocabulary seems to be almost entirely native, e. g., *mildheortnisse* = 'mercy,' *helend* = 'Saviour,' *drihten* = 'Lord,' *godspellere* = 'evangelist,' *fultume* = 'grace,' *feond* = 'devil,' *halie iwriten* = 'scriptures,' *maiden Marie* = 'virgin,' *annesse* = 'unity,' *alde isetnisse* = 'Old Testament,' *scuppend* = 'Creator,' etc. Exceptions are: *parais, prophete, Ihesu Crist* (once). The proper names show more traces of French influence than do those in Hom. Cott., e. g. : *arabisz* 5, *saint Iame* 151, *pe giwis* 9, *flum Iordan* 141, *Ihesu Crist* 121, *Zeinte Marie* 17, *seint dauðes muð pe prophete* 139, *Iohan pe ewangeliste* (sic) 81, *pharon* (nom.) 87. But the more usual forms are native, e. g., *pharao* 141, *goliath* 155, *pe hebreisce folc* 5, *iudeisce men* (or *folc*) 9, *folc of iudeus, isralisce folc* 11, *egipte lond* 11, *romenisce* 93, *grekisce* 93, *galileisce* 89, *gerkisc* 117, *wre lefdi sancte marie* 23, *halie Maiden Marie* 141, *mihhal* 41, *petrus* 91, 97, *sancte peter -re -res* 73, 37, 127, *sancte paul* 41, *dune oliuete* 3, *hulle synai* 129, *dauid pe halie witeze* 43; and in homilies IX and X, written by Aelfric, the forms: *Petrus, Matheus, Paulus, Iohannes*.

3. (Hom. II.) The Homilies in Trin. MS. B. 14, 52 (ed. by R. Morris, *OE. Homilies*, Second Series, London, 1878, EETS. 53) are somewhat later (OE. *ð* appears as *o*). In

109 pages of text there are 33 words of Romanic origin (Sturmfels, *Anglia*, VIII, 208). The church vocabulary here again is prevailingly native, *e. g.*: *holie boc*, *holie write*, *witeze*, *þremnesse*, *helend*, *salmwrihte*, *loftsongere*, *fulcninge*, *ester*, *etc.* (but *paradis*, and *prophete* competing with *witeze*). In proper names there seems to be an increasing tendency to drop the endings, but the number of forms certainly to be attributed to French influence is not great. The French forms *seinte*, *sainte* seem to have driven out the native *sanctus*, *sancte*. Other traces of French influence may be seen in *ihesu* (*crist*) frequent; *belleem* 31 (cf. Schwan-Behrens, *Altfr. Gram.*, § 122); *Seinte Marie Magdaleine* 65, *etc.* (Schw.-Behr., § 40); *seint iame* 145, 151, 187; *iames* gen. 151; *sein lucas* 71; *seint matheu* 81; *seint andreu* 175; *seinte andreues* gen. 185; *seinte elizabet* 125, 135; *betfage* 91. On the other hand, it is not easy to find distinctively native forms, though *sainte peter* 17, 35, *etc.*; *israelisse folc* 51, 53; *seint iacob* = 'James' 65, 107, *etc.* (*sein iacob* 71); *iuideusshe men* 81; *þe iudeus* 81; *seint ambrosius* 111; *-ii* 127; *goliath* accus. 193; *iohannes* 161 (usually *iohan*); *ionan* accus. 81, 83, seem to betray native rather than French influence.

II. *The Ormulum*.—The manuscript of the *Ormulum* is in an English hand. Furthermore the number of French words is small, about 23 in more than 20,000 lines. (Cf. Kluge, *Engl. Stud.*, XXII, 181). As one would expect, the extent of French influence on the proper names is not great. Probably to French must be attributed the names ending in *-ew*, *-eow*, *-aw*, *e. g.*: *Anndrew*, *Arrchelaw*, *Farisew*, *Helysew*, *Judeow*, *Jupewess* *Kaldewe*, *Saduceow*, and, indirectly, by analogy, *Galileow*. (Cf. Kluge, *Engl. Stud.*, XXII, 181; Behrens, as above, p. 41). Other French forms seem to be *Goliath*, *Awustin*, *Johan*, *Egippte*, *Jesus*, *Latin* (OF. *latin*: *matin*, Best. 3816–8), *Orrmin*, *Wallter*, *Paradis*.

If the names beginning with *J* have the *dʒh* pronunciation, this must be attributed to French.

The form *Caym* seems to be best explained as French. In OE. the regular form is *Cain*, -es, -e (Gen. 1022, 1056), though in a late manuscript (c) of the Prose Genesis (Herrig's *Archiv*, 1898) and in Aelfric 82, the form *Caim* occurs. In OF. I have found the forms *Caim*, *Chaim* (Reimpr.), *Chaym* (Adam), but *Kayn* (Renclus), *Cayn* (Job 517).

Filippe also seems to be French (*Phelipes*, *Philipes*, -e, Wace's *Marie* 1, 72, 204; *Phelipe*, Best. 11; *Phelippes* nom., accus., Macch.).

The forms *Zacariȝe*, *Zacarie* (beside *Zacarias*(s), *Zakaryas*(s), etc.), *Ysayȝe* (beside *Ysayas*) are possibly due to French influence; at least they find parallels in French.

Over against these French forms may be set the far greater number of names either showing distinctly English peculiarities, or, after the OE. fashion, reproducing the Latin form. Examples of the first class are *Abæl* (OF. *Abël*), *Elysabæp*, *Jafæp*, *Nazaræp*,<sup>1</sup> *Bepania* (cf. OF. *Betel*, Rois 285), *Amminadab*, *Emmanuel* (Pogatscher, § 32; Schw.-Behr., 107, 2, b), *Gabriel* (OF. *Gabriel*), *Grickess*, *Grickisshe* (Schw.-Behr., § 148, 2)), *ȝerrsalæm* (see note above), *Jopess* gen. (Schw.-Behr., § 109), *Marȝe* (English accent), *Michaël* (disyllabic in OF.: cf. *Michiel*, Wace's *Marie* 77), *Peterr* (OF. *Pier(r)es*, *Pier(r)e*), *Pawell*, *Salemänn* (?), *Bep(b)leæm*).

In addition must be mentioned the series of names with *æ* in the final syllable (cf. C, I, 5, above).

III. *Genesis and Exodus*.—This text contains about 100 words of Romanic origin (Sturmfels). The peculiar and arbitrary orthography of the proper names in the

<sup>1</sup> These words obviously did not have the dental spirant in OF. Cf., *Japhet*, Mist. Vieil. 6032, *Nazaret*, Wace's *Marie* 40. The loss of the dental, which would have followed the intermediate spirant pronunciation, did not occur in these forms. Cf. C. I, 5, above.



unique MS. of G. & E. suggests that the MS. was written from memory or from dictation rather than copied. Notice the arbitrary use or disuse of initial *h*- and such forms as *Aram* (Vulg. *Aran*), *Auel* (Vulg. *Auer*), *Cadalamor* (Vulg. *Chodorlahamor*), *Faga* (Vulg. *Phasga*), *Excol* (Vulg. *Eschol*), *Fegor* (Vulg. *Phogor*), *Iraab* (Vulg. *Irada*), etc., all of which might find an explanation in the assumption that the scribe had misheard. This apparent inaccuracy and the fact that most of the names are unusual ones, lessens the value of this text for our purpose.

Some few distinctively French forms may be recognized. *Amon*, *Ebru*, *Ebruīs* (competing with the English forms *Ebris*, *Ebrisse*), *Egyptien* (along with *egipte folc*), *Engleis*, *Ethiopien*, *Ihesus*, *Iesus*, *Iewes*, *flum Iurdan*, *michael* (: *wel*) dissyllabic, *Nembrot*, *Pharaun* (: *prisun : tun*).

Prof. O. F. Emerson has pointed out to me the peculiar forms *Vdas* = 'Judas' 1949, *Acob* = 'Jacob' 2391, *Osep* = 'Joseph' 2501, 2441, with the suggestion that these forms indicate the *i* pronunciation of the initial *I*- in these names. Whether or not this is true can be finally determined only after an examination of the MS. Since, however, all the instances of this kind occur at the beginning of the line, it seems probable that space has been purposely left for an illuminated capital *I*.

If these forms do not indicate the English pronunciation of *I*-, it is not easy to find signs of distinctively English pronunciation. *Abēl* (: *sel*) 417-18, and the forms already cited, *Ebris*, *Ebrisse*, seem to be native; *erebis ston* = 'Horeb' seems to have undergone the English *i*-umlaut; *amalech* (: *wrech*) 3395-6 also seems English.

Perhaps to French influence may be attributed in this as in other ME. texts, the frequent accent on the final syllable, as shown by the rimes, e. g., *amon* (: *on*), *berem-tem* (: *Ierusalem*), *caim* (: *kin*), *abram* (: *iurdan*), *eua* (: *sarra*), etc.

IV. *Anceren Riwele*.—In this text French influence is obvious in the orthography and in the vocabulary (about 500 French words, according to Sturmfels). In the writing of proper names the French fashion seems to be the prevailing one.

<i>Seint Agace</i> 370.	<i>Isboset</i> 270 (Vulg. <i>Isboseth</i> ).
<i>Seint Aunselme</i> 304, 338 (four times).	<i>Iesu</i> 26, ( <i>Iesu crist</i> frequent.)
( <i>Anselm</i> once.)	<i>Ihu crist</i> 10.
<i>Seint Andreu</i> 122, 136.	<i>Iesu Xte</i> 16.
<i>Seinte Antoine</i> 236.	<i>Sein Jerome</i> 80, 286.
<i>Seint Austin</i> 60, 104, etc.	<i>Iosaphat</i> 264 (Vulg. <i>Iosaphath</i> ).
<i>Alisaundres</i> 398.	<i>Iudit</i> 126, 136, 138, 298.
<i>Seinte Beneit</i> 236.	<i>Lazre</i> 312, 326, 328.
( <i>Benediht</i> 162.)	<i>Lorens, Lorenz</i> 122, 362.
<i>Seinte Bartholomeu</i> 244.	<i>Seinte Miheles</i> 386.
<i>Cesares</i> (gen.) 398.	( <i>Mihaeles</i> 412.)
<i>Davi, Davies</i> , 246, 56.	<i>Parais</i> 356.
( <i>David</i> , more frequent, 14, 48, 50, etc.)	<i>Pharisewus</i> 328.
<i>Ebreu</i> 136, 308.	<i>Sansumes, Saunsumes</i> (gen.) 254.
<i>Sein Giles</i> 350.	( <i>Samsones</i> 398.)
<i>Gius, Giws, Giwes</i> , etc., 106, 114, 394, 404.	<i>Seint Stefne</i> 122.
	<i>Ynde</i> 342.
	<i>Ypocras</i> 370.

It is not possible to make a long list of distinctively English forms. The only ones that I find are: *Peter* 164, 168, etc.; *Powel* 11, 30, 70, etc. (*Poules* gen. 360); *Benediht*(?) 162; *Elizabeð* 76; *Grickischs, Grickishe* 404, 406.

It is to be noted further that the popular forms (Latin endings dropped) are the ones used, and this is an indirect

sign of French influence, *e. g.*: *Antonie* 10; *Arsenie* 10; *Gregorie* 92, *etc.*; *Jeremie* 64, *etc.*; *Isaie* 76, *etc.*; *Tobie* 92; *Johan* 160, *etc.* (*Johannes* is used also); *Oloferne* 136, *etc.*; *Assuer* 146, 170; *Ezechie* = 'Hezekiah' 152; *Satan* 234; *Zacharie* 302.

V. Even in the alliterative and rhythmicai productions *Hali Meidenhad*, *St. Juliana*, *St. Katerine*, *Seinte Marherete*, where, judging from the alliterative style, we should expect to find the influence of OE. tradition strong, the French fashion in proper names seems the prevailing one.

1. *Hali Meidenhad* has 24 Romanic words employed 32 times (Einenkel, quoted by Sturmfels). The proper names that show French influence are: *Jeshu Cristes* 5 (only instance), *seint Austin* 27, *st. katerine*, *st. enneis* = 'Agnes,' *st. Juliene* (*st. margarete*), (*st. lucie*), *st. Cecille* 45.<sup>1</sup>

2. *St. Juliana* has 18 Romanic words employed 32 times (Einenkel, quoted by Sturmfels). There is not a great number of distinctive forms. *Ihesu crist* 8, 24; *iesu* 16, 36, 51; *sein Iuhan* (Fr. *u*) 40, 62; *flum Iurdan* 62; *dauð* 62; *seinte stefne* 40; *Nabugodowosor* 38; *giwes* 62; *Campaine* 76; *gulie* 62,—all seem to be French. To these perhaps may be added the forms with weakend endings: *ananie*, *zacharie* 32, *ysaye* 39. OE. tradition seems to persist in *peter ant pawel* 40, *israheles folc* 40, *beðleem* 62.

3. *St. Katerine*, which in 2541 verses has 50 Romanic words employed 73 times (Einenkel, *Anglia*, v), has not a great number of distinctive forms. French fashion, however, is apparent in the forms: *Giws* 330, *Iesu* 2378, *Iesu crist* 708, *Maxence* 1, *etc.*, *Platunes* (Norm. writing: *u* < Lat. *ō*) 857.

<sup>1</sup> The names in parentheses are shown to be French by their association with the other names distinctively French in form.

4. *Seinte Marherete* has 24 Romanic words employed 32 times (Einenkel, quoted by Sturmfels), and such forms of proper names as *dauiēs* (gen.) 18, *Ihesu crist* 3, *giwes* 3; but *dauīð þe witeze*, which seems to be English.

VI. *Old English Miscellany* (13 century. Ed. by R. Morris, EETS. 49, London, 1872):—

1. The *Passion of our Lord* betrays French influence everywhere. The heading reads: "Ici cumence la passyun ihesu crist en engleys." On the first page alone occur five French words. We expect to find and do find the names in French forms: *flum iurdan* 25; *seynt iohan* 2 syl. 26; *Iesus* 155; *ihesu crist* 37, etc.; *Gyv, Gywes* 351, 57, 72, 473, etc.; *fariseus* pl. 57, etc.; *seynt Iame* 151; *cesar* 420, 430; *ebreu, gryv, latyn* 470; *Marie Maudeleyne* 554; *Nerun, Dacyen* 686; *Peter* 139, 143, 197, etc., and *seynt Ion* 151, 223, are about the only distinctively English forms.

2. The *Bestiary* has few proper names. Notice, however, *ihesu crist* 98, *Inde* 604.

3. *Kentish Sermons* has *Ihesus Crist* 31, *geus, gius, gyus* 26. The other forms are not distinctive.

VII. *Miscellaneous*:—

1. The *Havelok* has such French forms as *Dauy, Lazarun, Ynde*.

2. *King Horn* has *Sarazins, Payn, Pains, Iesu Crist, Seint Steuene*.

3. *Judas* (Mätzner, *Sprachproben*, p. 114), a short poem of one page, has *Jesus, Jewes, Jeu*, and the native English form *Jurselem*.

4. To examine carefully all the forms in the *Cursor Mundi* does not fall within the scope of this work. At the same time, this later, rimed text throws some light on the names in the earlier period.

a. The accent was still free to fall on the last syllable,

as is shown by some remarkable rimes:—*Næ : thre* 1423-4; *matusale : he* 1483-4; *Rachell : tell* 3855-6; *Ioseph : lep* 4541-2; *Iosue : semble* 6407-8; *propheci : ysai* 10715-6, *etc.*

b. The final syllables which had been long in OE. and regularly so in the *Ormulum* were sometimes shortened in the *Cursor Mundi*, *e. g.*:—*moyses : wildernes* 6313-4; *wes : hercules* 7027-8; *ysmael : tell* 2637-8; *Rachell : tell* 3855-6, *etc.*

c. French forms are frequent, *e. g.*:—*grece (: pece)* 7037; *dauī* 7585; *kaym* 1559; *pers* 2105; *arabi* 2105; *Inde* 2105; *babiloyne* 2265; *lazar (: sare)* 14294, *etc.*; *Hebru, ebru, ebrew* 2281, *etc.*

#### E. A SELECTED LIST OF DISTINCTIVE FORMS.<sup>1</sup>

ABEL Hom. 81, Hom. Cott. 235, Jul. 38, 39, *Abēl (: sēl)* G. & E. 418, *Abel, Abæl* Orm.; OE. *Abel* gen. 1003, *abelys, abeles, abylys* gen. WS. Matth. xxiii, 35 *Abæl* Prose Gen. MS. C (cf. Herrig's *Archiv*, 1898); OF. *Abēl (: revel)* Adam 722-723, (*: bel*) Ywain 1813-14, (*: morsel*) Reimpredigt, Stanza 9; Vulgate *Abel*.

ABIMALECH G. & E. 1172, *etc.*; OE. *Abimelech, Abimælēh, Abimeleh* Gen. 2716, 2741 (cf. Bright, *Publ. Mod. Lang. Assoc.* XIV, 348); OF. *Abimelech* Mist. Vieil. 11768; Vulg. *Abimelech*.

ABSALONES gen. Ancr. Riw. 398; OF. *Absalon* Rois 126; Vulg. *Absalom*.

<sup>1</sup> Many common names, such as *Aaron, Adam, Moises, etc.*, have been omitted from this list because there is no apparent distinction between the French and the English forms. Many unusual names also have been omitted because unusual names generally retained their Latin form, and hence were the same in French and in English.

AMMINADAB *Amminadap* (?) Orm; OE. *Aminadab* nom. & accus. WS. Matth. i, 4; Vulg. *Aminadab* Matth. i, 4.

AMÓN (: *on*) G. & E. 1157; OE. *Ammon* Gen. 2613; OF. *Amon* Rois 36; Vulg. *Ammon*.

ANDREU, *-es* Hom. II, 175, 185, *Andreu*, *Andrewes* Ancr. Riw. 122, 412, *Anndréw* 2 syl. Orm, *Andreas* Pet. Chron.; OE. *Andreas*; OF. *Andreu* 2 syl. (: *deu*) Best. 3793, Mar. Leg., p. 123, *Andrius* 2 syl. (: *Matheus*) Wace's *Marie* 72, *Andriu* Renclus, *Andry* Mist. Pass. 12871; Vulg. *Andreas*.

ANTIOCHE dat. St. Marh. 2; OE. *Antiochia* nom., dat. Chron. 9, Aelfr. 177; OF. *Antioche* Wace's *Marguer*, 279, Cligés 800; Vulg. *Antiochia*.

ARFAXAT Hom. Cott. 227, *Arfaxath* G. & E. 701; OE. *Arfaxath* Aelfr. 103; OF. *Arphaxat* Mist. Vieil. 41882; Vulg. *Arphaxad* Gen. x, 22, 24.

ASSUER Ancr. Riw. 146; OE. *Assuerus* Aelfr. 92; Vulg. *Assuerus*.

AZARIE accus. Jul. 33; OE. *Azarias*, *Adzarias* Dan. 91, 398; OF. *Azaries* nom. Macch.; Vulg. *Azarias*.

BABILONIE nom. Hom. II, 51, *Babilones* gen. Hal. Meid. 5, St. Marh. 17; OE. *Babylones* gen., *Babilone* (*weard*), *Babylonie* gen., *Babilonige* gen. Dan. 47, 99, 164, 167, 173, *babilonis*, *babilonys* gen. sing. WS. Matth. i, 11, 12; OF. *Babylonie* Rois 484, Macch., *Babiloine*, *Babilone* Mar. Leg. 211, 208, *Babyloine* Wace's *Marguer*. 162, *Babiloine*, *-oyne* Boeve de H. 3161, 3166, *Babyloine* Renclus.

BARTHOLOMEU Ancr. Riw. 244; OE. *Bartholomeus* WS. Matth. x, 3; OF. *Berthelemy* Mist. Pass. 28665, *Bertremieu* Wace's *Marie* 72.

BELZEBUB Hom. II, 177, *Beelzebub*, *-es* Jul. 42-3, Hom. 55, Tes. Col. ms. Mor. Ode, *Belsebuc* Lamb. ms. Mor. Ode 283 (is this not *-t* in the mss. ?); OE. *Belzebub* WS. Matth. x, 25, xii, 24, 27; OF. *Belsabut* Wace's *Marguer*, 85, *Bel-sabu* Boeve de H. 3606, *Belzebuth* Mist. Pass. 1220; Vulg. *Beelzebub*.

BETHLEEM Hom. II, 35, Kent, Serm. 26, Hom. Cott. 241, *belleem* Hom. II, 31, *Beþpleæm*, *Bep̃leæm* Orm; OE. *Bethlem* Gen. 1799, 1876, etc., *Bethlem*, *Bethleem*, *Betleem* Chron., *Betlem* Crist 449; OF. *Bethleem* Rois 1, *Bedleem* (MS. B), *Bedlem* (MS. D) Boeve de H. 1244 (*Belleem* is the popular form that one would expect in OF.); Vulg. *Bethlehem*.

CAYM, *Kaym* Jul. 38–39, *Caïm*, *Caÿm* G. & E., *Caÿm*, *-ess* Orm; OE. *Cain*, *-es*, *-e* Gen. 1022, 1056, *Caim* Aelfr. 82, Prose Gen. MS. c (Herrig's *Archiv*, 1898); OF. *Caim*, *Chaim* Reimpr., *Chaym* Adam, *Kayn* Renclus, *Cayn* Mist. Pass. 1132, Job 517; Vulg. *Cain*.

CALUARIE (*munte*) W. of L. 283, Ancr. Riw. 106, *Kalu-arie* Pass. 436; OE. *Calwer* Ep. 471, 476, *Caluarie* Elene 672, etc. (see Pogatscher, p. 23); Vulg. *Calvaria*.

CESAR, *-es*, *-e* Pass. 420, 422, 429, Ancr. Riw. 398, *Kaserr*, *Kasere* Orm; OF. *Cesar* nom., gen., accus. Mist. Pass. 23143–23149, Phil. Thaün 775.

CONSTANTINUS Hom. 129, *Constantin* St. Kat. 15; OE. *Costontinus* (Scotch king at Brunnanburb), *Custantin* OET. 154, 13 (cf. Pogatscher, § 42, 152).

CRIST, *-es*, *-e* Hom. 7, 15, 17, Jul. 23, 31, 67, Kent. Serm. 26, Orm, Ancr. Riw. 17; OE. *Crist*; OF. *Cris* (nom.) *Crist* Renclus, *Criz*, *Crist* Bernard 555, *Jesu-Crist* Rois 1, *Cristus* Adam.

DAVID Hom. 7, Hom. II, 89, Ancr. Riw. 15, Hal. Meid. 3, 5, *Daviðes* gen. Hom. 97, Hom. II, 33, W. of L. 273, *Davið* Jul. 62–63, Hal. Meid. 39, *Daviþ*, *Daviþþ* Orm, *Davy* Hav. 2863, *Dawi* Ancr. Riw. 246, *Davies* gen. St. Marh. 18, Ancr. Riw. 56; OE. *David*, *-es* Ex. 389, Aelfr. 61, *Daviðes* gen. Vesp. Hymns 9, *David*, *Davið*, *-ides*, *-iðes* Northumbr. Gospels (Cook); OF. *David* Adam, Vie St. Thos. 96, Renclus, *Davit* gen. Wace's *Marie* 37, *Davi* Best. 91, (: *entendi*), Wace's *Marie* 49.

EBREU, *Ebreuwisch*, *-e* Ancr. Riw. 130, 136, Pass. 470,

*Ebru*, *Ebruis*, *Ebris*, *Ebrius* (*kin*), *Ebrisse* G. & E., *Hebreisce*, *Ebreisce* Hom. 3, 5, 7, *Eberisce* Hom. Cott. 227; OE. *Ebrei*, -*ea*, -*um*, -*os*, *Ebrisca* Dan. 1, 78, 256, *Ebrisc* Elene 725; OF. *Hebreu* nom. pl., *Hebreus* dat. pl. Rois 43, 15, *Hebreus* nom. sing., gen. pl. Phil. Thäin 100, Mar. Leg. 61.

EFFRAYM 3 syl. (: *hem*) G. & E. 2151; OE. *Effrem* Aelfr. 71, *Effraim* dat. Psalm 879, *Effrem*, -*es* Psalms 107, 77; OF. *Effraim* Rois 2, *Efrem* Best. 2095; Vulg. *Ephraim*.

EGIPTE, *Egypte* G. & E., *Egippte* *Egyppte* Orm, *Egippte* (*lond*) Hom. 11, Jul. 33, *Egippte* dat. Ancr. Riw. 218, *Egipthisse*, -*n* Hom. 87, 93, *Egipcien*, *Egypcien* G. & E.; OE. *Egypta* gen., *Egyptan* A.-S. Chron., Ex. 50, (*of*) *Aegyptum* Psalm 79, *Egypte* accus. Ex. 443, *Egyptum* Ex. 504, *Egyptas*, -*a*, -*um* Psalms 104, 105; OF. *Egpte* nom., dat. Wace's *Marie* 26, 52, (*en*) *Egypte* Rois 9, Best. 74, *Egyptiens* Rois 34, Job 510.

HELIAS Hom. II, 129, *Helyas* Orm, *Helie* dat. Ancr. Riw. 154, *Elie* nom., dat., *Elies* gen. Ancr. Riw. 402, 356; OE. *Helias*, -*e*, -*am* WS. Matth. xi, 14, xxvii, 47, etc., Aelfr. 129; OF. *Helyes* Rois 311, Macch., *Elies* Best. 3140, *Helyas* Job 487.

HELYSEW, *Helyseow* Orm; OE. *Hēlisēus* *Hēlisēo* gen. Juliana 25, 160; OF. *Helyseu* Rois 322; Vulg. *Eliseus*.

ELIZABETH Ancr. Riw. 76, *Elysabæþ*, *Elyzabæth* Orm, *Elizabet* Hom. II, 125, *Helizabeth* Hal. Meid. 45; OF. *Elisabet*, *Elisabeth* Wace's *Marie*, pp. 44, 46.

EMMANUËL, *Emanuel* Orm; OE. *Emmanuhel* Crist 132, *Emanuhel* WS. Matth. i, 23; OF. *Emanuhel* Adam.

EVE Orm. *Eue*, *Eua* G. & E. *Eue* Ur. of Lefdi, p. 161, Ancr. Riw. 52, St. Kat. 886, Hal. Meid. 9, Jul. 38-39, Hom. II, 191, Hom. 75, *Euan* accus. Hom. 123, *Eue* gen. Hom. II, 111, *Eua*, -*am* Hom. Cott. 223, 229; OE. *Eve*, -*an* Gen. 612, 648; OF. *Eue* Wace's *Marie* 55; *Eua*, -*am* Adam, *Eve*, -*ain* Renclus.



FARAON, *-ess* Orm, G. & E., *Pharao, Pharaon, Pharraon, Pharaun* G. & E., *Pharaon, Pharao* Hom. 87, 89, 140, *Pharaones* gen. Jul. 60–61, *Pharao, -ones* Ancr. Riw. 218, 220; OE. *Farao, -nes, -ne* Gen. 1860, *Faraon* accus. Ex. 156, 501, Aelfr. 85, OF. *Pharaun* nom., gen. Rois 21, 9, *Pharaon* Macch., Best. 71; Vulg. *Pharao*.

FARISEW, *Farisewess, Farisewwess* gen. Orm, *Fariseus, Phariseus*, pl. Pass. 57, 239 *þa sunder halzan* Hom. Cott. 244; OE. *þa sundor halgan* frequent, *þa Phariseas* accus. Aelfr. 129 (cf. MacGillivray, as above, § 4).

FILIPPE, *-es* Orm; OE. *Philippus* A.-S Chron., p. 7; OF. *Phelipes, Philippes, -e* Wace's *Marie* 72, 1, 204, *Phelipe* Best. 11, *Phelippes* nom., accus. Macch.

PHILISTEUS nom. pl. Ancr. Riw. 264; OF. (*de*) *Philistiens* Rois 13 (*de*) *Philisteez* Macch.; Vulg. *Philisthaei*.

GABRIÆL Orm, *Gabriel* Hom. II, 125, Ancr. Riw. 68, 76, Hal. Meid. 45; OE. *Gabriel, Gabrihel* Crist 201, 336, *Gabrihel* Aelfr. 32; OF. *Gabriël (:bel)* Phil. Thaiin 871, *Gabriel* Adam, Wace's *Marie* 40.

GALAAD, *Galaad* G. & E.; OF. *Galaat, Galaad* Rois 36, 119, *Galaad* Macch. 15; Vulg. *Galaad*.

GALILE, *-ew, -eow* Orm, *Galyle, Galilewis* Pass. 136, 286, *Galilee* nom., dat. Ancr. Riw. 322, *Galileisce* Hom. 89; OE. *Galilea, -m* Satan 527; OF. *Galilee (:cite, :alee, :Zebedee)* Wace's *Marie* 10, 39, 60, *Galilee* Rois 269, Macch.; Vulg. *Galilaea*.

GOLIE, *Gulie* accus. Jul. 62–63, *Goliam* Hom. 155, Hom. II, 193, *Goliath* accus. Orm; OF. *Goliath, Goliass, Golie* Rois 66, 67, 68, *Golie* Best. 92, *Goliass* accus. Mist. Pass. 18986; Vulg. *Goliath*.

GRIKISCE, *Grekisce* Hom. 63, 93, *Grickische* Ancr. Riw. 402, *Grickess, Grickisshe* Orm, *Gryv* Pass. 470; OE. *Crēacas* Pref. to Past. Care, *Grec(lond)* Chron. 236, *ꝛeca* gen. Aelfr. 182; OF. *Greu, Gregeis* Best. 2594, *Gregeis*

Boeve de H. 328, *Greu*, *Grvi*, Reimpr. Stanza 27, *Grius*, *Griu* Phil. Thaün 349, 1093, *Grece*, (*des*) *Gries*, (*des*) *Gres* Macch.

IAFET Hom. Cott. 225, *Jafæp*, *Jafæth* Orm, *Iaphet* G. & E.; OE. *Jafeth*, *Jafeð* usually *Jafeðes* Gen. 1242, etc.; OF. *Japhet* Mist. Vieil 6032; Vulg. *Iapheth*.

JAMES Ancr. Riw. 9, Hom. II, 151, *Iame* Ancr. Riw. 11, Pass. 151, Hom. 151, Hom. II, 145, *Iacob* Hom. 93, Hom. II, 65, Jul. 60–61, *Jacobum* accus. Orm; OE. *Iacobus*, -um A.-S. Chron. 8, 9, WS. Matth. iv, 21, xviii, 1, x, 2, 3, *Sancte Iacobs* gen. Ben. Rule, Cap. 64 (Wint. Version *Iacob*); OF. *Jaques*, *Jaque* Wace's *Marie* 59, 60, *Jaques* Mist. Pass. 13364, *Jaike* Bernard, p. 542, *Jake* Renclus, *Jakemes*, Job 442, *Jame* Vie de St. Thos.; Vulg. *Jacobus*.

IEREMIE Hom. 47, Hom. II, 69, Ancr. Riw. 64; OE. *Hieremia*, -am WS. Matth. ii, 17, xvi, 14, xxvii, 9; OF. *Jheremias* Adam, Job 453, *Jheremies* Job 449, Macch., *Jeremias* Best. 1590, *Ieremies*, *Theremies*, *Ieremia* Macch.; Vulg. *Jeremias*.

IERUSALEM Hom. 2, Hom. II, 21, Jul. 40–41, Kent. Sermon. 26, Hom. Cott. 241, G. & E., *Itherusalem* Hom. II, 33, *Iurselem* Jud. 3, 17, *zerrsalcæm* Orm, *Iurisalēm* 3 syl. Bev. of Hampt. 1960, 2261, etc.; OE. *Ierusalem* A.-S. Chron. 12, 13, *Gerusalem*, Dan. 2, 708; OF. *Jerusalem* Rois 14 (4 syl.). Best. 105; *Jerusalem* 4 syl. Wace's *Marie* 20, 27, 28; Vulg. *Ierusalem*, *Ierosolyma*, -am, etc.

IHESU *Crist* Hom. 121 (one instance), Kent. Sermon. 28, Pass. 37, Ancr. Riw. 11, St. Kat. 707, St. Marh. 3, *Ihesu cristes* gen. Jul. 8–9, *Ieshu cristes* Hal. Meid. 5, 47, *Ihesu* voc. W. of L. 273, *Ihesus* accus. W. of L. 279, *Ihesus crist* Kent. Sermon. 31, *Iesu*, *Ihesu* Jul. 16–17, 36–37, *Iesus* K. Horn, Pass. 155, *Jesus*, *Jesuss* Orm, *Ihesuc* Pass. 184, 443; OE. Does not occur in alliterative poetry, *Gessus* Run. Inscr. Sweet, HES., p. 145; OF. *Jesus*, -u Phil. Thaün

626, 1827, *Ihesu* Macch. 7, *Ihesucris*, -*cris* Renclus, *Jesus crist* nom., *Jesu crist* obl. Phil. Thaün 874, 861, *Jesus* nom., *Ihesu* dat., *Ihesum* accus. Wace's *Marguer.* 182, 252, 279, *Ihesum christum* Wace's *Marie* 57, *Jesu crist* (: *occist*, : *servist*) Wace's *Marie* 20, 60.

YNDE dat. Hav. 1085, *Inde* Best. 604 ; OE. *Indea*, *India* gen. 152, 153, *Indian* dat. Aelfr. 92 ; OF. *Inde* Chard. Jos. 70, Best. 740.

IOHAN Hom. 81, S. Warde 267, Hom. II, 85, Hav. 2957, Orm, Pet. Chron. 374, Pass. 26, Ancr. Riw. 160, *Iuhan* Jul. 40-41, *Ion* (2 syl. : *anon*) Hav. 177, *seynt Ion* Pass. 151, 153, *Iohannes* Hom. 123, Hom. II, 161, Hom. Cott. 242, *Iohannes* gen. Ancr. Riw. 166, 184, *Iohannem* accus. Hom. 5 ; OE. *Iohannis* Höllenf. 50, 135, *Iohannes*, -*em* Chron. 9, Aelfr. 14, Ben. Rule, Cap. 1, ms. F ; OF. *Johan* Best. 3143, Chard. Jos. 1588, (*de*) *Iohan* Macch., *Johans*, *Johan* Bernard 542, *Johans*, *Johan* Wace's *Marie* 45, 60, Vie St. Thos. 5273, *etc.*, *Jehan* Renclus, Mist. Pass. 11557, *Iohanam* accus. Macch. 5, *Johanz* Wace's *Marie* 57, Job 447.

IOSEPH Ancr. Riw. 258, Pass. 509, *Ioseph*, *Iosep*, -*es* G. & E., *Iosep*, *Ioseph* Jul. 60-61, *Josæp* Orm ; OE. *Ioseph*, *Iosepes*, *Iosepe*, *Iosep* accus., *Joseph* Ps. 104, *Josepes* Ps. 77, *Josep* accus. Hymn 10, Aelfr. 79, 131, 135 ; OF. *Joseph* Macch., Bernard 548, Best. 70, Wace's *Marie* 49, 50, *Josep* Wace's *Marie* 18, 26, *etc.*, *Ioseps* nom. Pass. Chr. 341, *Ioseph* Hohen Lied 35 (Last two are very early texts) ; Vulg. *Ioseph*.

ISAIAS Hom. 73, *Ysaïas* Hom. 5, 117, *Ysayes* Hom. II, 151, *Isaïe* nom., dat. Ancr. Riw. 76, 78, *Ysaye* Hom. II, 219, Jul. 38, *Ysaïe* Jul. 39, *Ysaïam* Hom. Cott. 235, *Ysayas*, *Ysayze* 4 syl. Orm ; OE. *Esaiās* Crist 303, *esaias*, *isaias*, -*am* WS. Matth. iv, 14, *etc.* ; OF. *Ysaïas*, *Ysaïe* Best. 572, 2122, *Ysaïe* nom. (: *profetie*) Wace's *Marie* 36, *Isaias* Adam, *Ysaïe* Rois.

*Judeow*, *Judew*, *Jupewess* Orm, *Iewes* G. & E., *Gyus*, *Geus*, Kent. Sermon. 26, *þe Giwis*, *Iudeisce men*, (*folc of*) *Iudeus*, *Iudeisce folc* Hom. 9, (*þe*) *Iudeus* Hom. II, 109, *Gewes* Jud. 17, 18, *Giws* St. Kat. 330, *Gywes*, *Gywenne*, *Gyv* Pass. 57, 332, 351, *Giws*, *Gius* pl., *Giwes*, *Gius* gen. Ancr. Riw. 106, 114, *Giwes* St. Marh. 3; OE. (cf. MacGillivray, as above, § 3), *Iudeas* A.-S. Chron. 8, 9, 12, 13, *Iudeas*, *-a*, *-um* Aelfr. 130, *Giupcas* Run. Inscr. (Sweet, HES., p. 145); OF. *Jude*, *Judeu* Adam, (*li*) *Judeu*, (*li*) *Jueus* pl. Rois 2, 111, 206, *Geus* Bernard 555, *Judei* Wace's *Marie* 12, *Gywesse*, *Giu*, *Gius* Mar. Leg. ms. Roy., pp. 24, 25, *Jueu* Mar. Leg. ms. Eg., pp. 19, 20, *Judeus* nom. sing., *Judeu* nom. pl. Phil. Thaün 1124, 2727, *Judus* pl. St. Brandan 1286, (*des*) *Iuis* Macch., *Juif* Renclus; Vulg. *Iudaei*.

UDIT, *-es* Ancr. Riw. 126, 130; OE, *Iudith* frequent, *Iupytte*, *Iupette*, *Iudette*, *Iupætte*, *Iothete* (daughter of Chas. the Bold and wife of Aethelwulf) A.-S. Chron.

LAZARUSS Orm, *Lazarun* accus. Hav. 331, *Lazre* dat. Ancr. Riw. 312; OE. *Lazarum* accus. Aelfr. 66; OF. *Lazarus* Job 463, (*par sein*) *Lazre* Vie St. Thos. 4864, *Lazaron* Renclus, *lo lazer* accus. Pass. Chr. 30, *Lazere* accus. Chard. 'Dormans' 1687; Vulg. *Lazarus*.

LATIN Jul. 2-3. Orm (in Orm always *Látin*), St. Marh. 23, *Latyn* Pass. 470, *boc leden* Hom. 117, Hom. II, 151; OE. (*boc*) *læden* Aelfr. 195, (*on*) *Latinum* (*gercorde*) Aelfr. 199; OF. *Latins*, *-in* (: *Angevins*, : *divin*) Phil. Thaün 99, 350, *Latin* (: *matin*) Best. 3817-18.

LUCAS (*þe godspellere*) Hom. 89, *Lucas* Hom. II, 71, Orm, (*seint*) *Luk* W. of L. 281; OE. *Lucas* A.-S. Chron. 10, Aelfr. 52; OF. *Lucas* Bernard 553, Wace's *Marie* 72, *Luc* Mist. Pass. 30844.

MARIE Hom. 17, Hom. II, 21, S. Warde 259, Kent. Sermon. 26, Hom. Cott. 237, Pass. 569, Ancr. Riw. 38, St. Kat. 333,

Hal. Meid. 15, *Maria* Hom. Cott. 227, G. & E., *Marze* Orm, *Marie* gen. Pet. Chron. 373, Pass. 354, Ancr. Riw. 22, (*oðres*) *Maries* gen. Ancr. Riw. 106, *Mariam* (*Magdalene*) Hom. 157, *Maries* pl. Ancr. Riw. 372; OE. *Maria*, -n Satan 438 (cf. Pogatscher, p. 33); OF. *Marie* Adam, Wace's *Marie* 1, *Marie* gen. Phil. Thaün 824, Wace's *Marie* 58, *Maries* pl. Wace's *Marie* 58, *Maria* nom. Wace's *Marie* 82.

(*Marie*) MAGDALENE Hom. 157, Ancr. Riw. 372, Hal. Meid. 43, (*M.*) *Magdaleine* Hom. II, 65, (*M.*) *Maudeleyne* Pass. 554; OF. *Magdalaine* Renclus, *Madeleyne* (MS. B), *Maudelen* (MS. D) Boeve de H. 1248, *Madelaine* Mist. Pass. 21292; Vulg. *Magdalene*.

MATHEUS Hom. 97, *Matheu* Hom. II, 81, *Mappeow*, *Mapeow*, *Mappew*, *Mapew* Orm; OE. *Matheus* Andreas 943, Aelfr. 48; OF. *Matheus* Wace's *Marie* 72, *Mathiu* gen. Phil. Thaün 2205, *sains Matius* nom. Holy Rood 62, *Mathieu* Mist. Pass. 28713, *Mahiu* Renclus; Vulg. *Matthaeus*.

MICHAEL (: *wel*) G. & E. 3608, *Michaël* (only once) Orm, *Michel* Ancr. Riw. 13, *Mihel* St. Kat. 710, *Mihhal* Hom. 41, *Michaelles* gen, Pet. Chron. 377, *Mihaeles*, *Miheles* gen. Ancr. Riw. 412, 386; OF. *Mikieus* Renclus, *Michiel* 2 syl. Wace's *Marie* 77.

NABUGODONOSOR Jul. 38–39; OE. *Nabuchodonossor* Dan. 48, *Nabucodonossor* Az. 183; OF. *Nabugodonosor* Adam, Rois 206, Vie St. Thos. 1316; Vulg. *Nabuchodonosor*.

NAZARETH Hom. Cott. 241, Pass. 468, *Nazaræþ* Orm; OE. *Nazareth* Aelfr. 118, *Nazarēð* Elene 913; OF. *Nazaret* Wace's *Marie* 40.

NERUN Pass. 686, *Nerrun*, *Nerun* Jul. 40–41; OE. *Nero*, *Neron* A.-S. Chron. 11.

NOE Hom. 81, Hom. Cott. 225, G. & E., *Noe*, *Noþ*, *Nopess* Orm, *Noes*, *Noees* Jul. 60–61; OE. *Noë* Ex. 362; OF. *Noe* Reimpr. 14, Mist. Vieil. 5233; Vulg. *Noe*.

PÆRSA Orm; OE. *Persan* dat. Aelfr. 93; OF. (*de*) *Perse* Macch.

PAUL Hom. 41, etc., *Paulus* Hom. 117, Hom. II, 185, Hom. Cott. 241, *Pawel* Jul. 40-41, Ur. of our L., Hal. Meid. 21, *Pāwell* Orm 8052, etc. (*Saúl*), *Poul* Hom. II, 15, *Pol* xi Pains 14, *Powel* Hom. II, 9, Ancr. Riw. 70, *Poules* gen. Ancr. Riw. 360; OE. *Paulus* A.-S. Chron. 8, 9, Aelfr. 34; OF. *Pols*, *Pol* Bernard 548, *Pol* nom. Mar. Leg. 110. Best. 130, Chard. 'Dormans' 86, *Pols*, *Polz*, *Pol* Vie St. Thos., *Pous* nom., *Pol* Renclus, *Paules* Job 465, 441, *Pool* Fr. heading to ME. "xi Pains of Hell"; Vulg. *Paulus*.

PETER Hom. 75, Hom. II, 17, Jul. 164, Jud. 29, Pass. 139, *Peterr* Orm, *Petrus* Hom. 91, *Petres* gen. Hom. 37, Pet. Chron. 375, *Petre* dat. Hom. 37, *Petrum* accus. Hom. 5; OE. *Petrus*, *petres*, *petre*, *petrum* WS. Matth., Aelfr. 52, 59; OF. *Pierres*, *Pierre* Vie St. Thos., Wace's *Marie* 72, 80, *Pierre* Mist. Pass. 18685, *Pieres*, *e*- Bernard 542, *Pierres* nom., *Pierron* Renclus, *Pieres* Mar. Leg. 19, Job 441, *Perre* Best. 1889, (*sainz*) *Peres* Vie St. Thos. 1331, *Pere* Boeve de H. 956 etc.; Vulg. *Petrus*.

PILAT W. of L. 281, *Pilate* dat. Orm, *Pilates* Pass. 331, *Pylates* dat. Pass. 323, *Pilatus* Jud. 18, *Pilates* gen. Hom. II, 21; OE. *Pilatus*, *Pilate* dat., *Pilatum* accus. Aelfr. 189, 182, 187; OF. *Pilate* Best. 1429, St. Brand. 1285, *Pilates* Ev. de Nicodeime, *Pilaz* nom., *Pilat*, *Pilad* obl. Die Pass. Chr. 202, 205, 220 (cf. "Trad. de la Bible en Vers." par J. Bonnard, Paris, 1884), *Pilaton* Renclus, (*de*) *Pilate* Mist. Pass. 26454; Vulg. *Pilatus*.

SATHANAS Hom. 177, Mor. Ode, Hom. II, 228, Hav. 1100, Pass. 31, St. Marh. 16, *Satanas* Best. 96, Orm, *Sathan* xi Pains, *Satan* Ancr. Riw. 234, *Sathanase* gen. St. Kat. 2241; OE. *Satan* Gen. 345, *Satanus* Sat. 371, *Sathan*, *Sathana* accus. Aelfr. 175, 177; OF. *Satanas* Wace's *Marguer.* 151, *Sathanas* Rois 215, *Sathan* Best. 611, Renclus, *Sathan*, *Saathanus* Mist. Pass. 10668, 10683; Vulg. *Satanus*.

(*Munte of*) SYNAI Hom. 11, St. Kat. 2498, *Sinay*, *Synai*. *Synay* G. & E.; OE. (*on munte*) *Sinai* Aelfr. 71; OF. *Synai* Rois 2, *Signay* Mist. Vieil. 23334.

STEPHENE, *Stefne* Jul. 40–41, *Steuene* K. Horn 665, (king) *Stephne* Pet. Chron. 382, *Stefne* Ancr. Riw. 122; OE. *Stephanus* Elene 509; OF. *Estefne* Best. 3161, *Estieve* Renclus, *Estevenes* Bernard 543.

ZACHARIE nom. Hom. II, 125, accus. Jul. 32, Ancr. Riw. 302; OE. *Sacharias* Höllenf. 46, *Zacharias* Aelfr. 89; OF. *Zacharie* Best. 1437, Macch., *Zaquarie* (: *Marie*) Wace's *Marie* 45.

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